

/101 cont. /

175
648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaiibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [73] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175
648
797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civilization for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont. /

- 175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
 ● 177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
 648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
 [178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
 Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
 175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
 648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolívar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
 fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
 Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
 victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
 Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez
 Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

- 175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
 101- cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
 648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
 [151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in
 countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth
 century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro
 de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemba by the
 Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed
 from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

- 178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
 101 neighboring tribe called Mogweš by the Paez, has been preserved
 114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano in-
 habit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in
 the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs
 of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano
 Francisco Tumina Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/
 drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by
 Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

/106 cont. /

648 [101/181] it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muisca pesu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 123 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.

123 361 [177] Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

/113/

75

Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

273
276
648

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

461
829

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

361

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

650 /120 cont. /

354 the simplest possible form. Three rocks provide the lateral sup-

415 port or stand for the pots, of which there are two at most, a metal one, usually of aluminum, and an earthen one. Very poor families have only one earthen pot, which is relatively

[917] cheap to buy. The earthen pot cannot be hung up; it is set between the three fire-stones in such a way that it cannot tip over, whereas the aluminum pot is hung by its handle on a soot-covered, angled stick that hangs down from the ridge (Ill. 166

352 /see p. 273/). Above the fire area there hangs a frame made

[251] of maize canes and about one square meter in size, on which

[353] household utensils and, above all, the rock salt for salting food are stored, airy and dry. Tables, chairs, or stools of any kind

[237] are unknown. One generally sits on the hairy side of an un-

[513] tanned and hence board-stiff cowhide, on which one also /121/ sleeps, or one sits on a beam, a block of wood, or a stone. Paez

• [177] who have seen house furnishings in Iazá or in the dwellings of white colonists have sometimes built for themselves as a bed a sort of bench 30-50 centimeters high, consisting of sticks or reeds

[513] laid side by side. For sleeping the customary cowhide is spread on it. These sleeping benches are not used for sitting.

342 The nights in Calderas are generally quite cool, and

362 the light construction of the walls with cracks between the in-

132 dividual maize stalks does not in any way prevent the cold wind

from coming in. In a few houses, near the sleeping area, I saw the walls sealed by means of expresse sugar-cane piled up

462 horizontally. For sleeping, the members of the family lie down

[354] in a circle around the fire area, where the fire must be kept going

[513] all through the night. This, like all housework, is the task of

the woman, who must gather sufficient fuel beforehand and get up every two hours during the night to stir up the fire. Furthermore,

[264] she must get up an hour earlier in the morning in order to have

the first meal, which is eaten around five o'clock, sometimes

[461] even at four o'clock, prepared on time. In spite of this, the

men think that they are the ones who do the hardest work and that basically they are the only ones in the village who really work.

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in ham-
[854] mocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were
[513] not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to
[286] make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same
knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.
415 Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which con-
[286] tain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.
[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed
[273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka)
are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked cala-
bashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see
[249] p.253 /). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/
412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or
352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller
hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the
floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one
meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todśá tc) off of
415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves
264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253 /). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely
[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were
● [177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives,
needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-
515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands
only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person
has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the
sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

/123 cont. /

291 stamps. Soon after the Conquista they adopted the upper garment
177 and the straw hat still worn today.

The clothing of the men consists of the upper garment, linen trousers, the cloak (called "poncho" in Peru, "ruana" in Colombia /see the glossary, p. 250 /) and the waterproof, plaited straw hat. The upper garment and the ruana are woven by the 291 women out of sheep wool, whereas the linen trousers are made 294 by the men themselves out of purchased fabrics. This is note- 286 worthy culture-historically, for cutting clothing from woven 177 fabrics was unknown to the South American Indians in pre- [462] Colombian times, since fabrics were not woven "by the meter" to be sewed later into clothing as desired; rather, the shape of the subsequent article of clothing was already taken into consideration at the start of the weaving. It follows from the method 296 of manufacture that torn fabrics are never repaired by the women with a ready-made patch, but are always darned in imitation of [462] the texture of the cloth. It is different for men's trousers, the materials of which are bought by the men and sewed by them themselves, never by the women. Once these -- as well as the purchased shirts -- are torn, they are never darned, but always repaired by the men by means of a patch sewed underneath.

296 Thus, we have here the fixed rule that woven clothing is never- 177 patched, but is darned, whereas the sewed clothing is never darned, 462 but is always patched. The former is women's work, the latter men's work.

291 The garment covering the upper body of the men (tondate;; for lack of an appropriate European designation it is called upper garment in the following) is not a sleeveless shirt, since the sides are not sewed together, but are open. It is quite simply a rectangular woven piece of wool about 60 centimeters wide and 160 centimeters long, whose warp threads run lengthwise. A slit about 30 centimeters long is left open in the center for the neck. It is pulled on over the head, and the lower ends are either stuffed into the trousers or left hanging over them. In the latter case they must be secured with a strap tied over them (Ills. 154 /see p. 268/, 165, 166 /see p. 273/, 171 /see p. 276 /, 202 /see p. 289 /, 203 /see p. 290/).

/124 cont./

291 The upper garment (ipotsatc) is a simple, rectangular piece of cloth about 160 centimeters long and 80 centimeters wide, which, when being put on, is held crosswise so that the warp and ornamental threads run crosswise. When it is on, it covers only the bosom, back, and one side, whereas the other one remains more or less free (Ills. 166 /see p. 273/ and 178 /see p. 279 /). In use it is put on from one side of the body over the bosom to the other side, and then led across the back to the original side again. The back /125/ part is now pulled up and fastened over both shoulders to the bosom part with a thorn (tópo) or a safety pin. The part that hangs down is tucked into the skirt. In general the women try to buy colored, usually red blouses in the market for festival days, and these then replace the old, simple cloth. The skirts, however, are not exchanged for other clothing, because the purchased fabrics are not nearly as durable and also do not have the necessary width.

Outside the house the women usually wear a shawl over the ipotsatc; they either weave one (senyatc) for themselves or [854] purchase it (panyelón). In any case it is necessary for carrying babies, for they are wrapped in it and secured with the colored belt (táw) (Ills. 152 /see p. 267 /, 166 /see p. 273 /, 178. /see p. 279 /, 183 /see p. 282 /).

292 There is no special, original ceremonial dress or any special clothing for dignitaries. The latter carry, as their only [293] distinguishing mark, the chonta staff introduced to them by the [177] Spaniards. For festivals and ceremonies people try to wear either items of European clothing or a new outfit of the customary garments. For a Christian burial it is the duty of the members of [764] the family to bury the deceased in the clothing of white Colombians. [177]

291 Small children usually run around naked or have a scrap of cloth hung over them in the style of the ruana. Larger boys wear either a large ruana reaching to the upper thighs, which is held together by a belt, or they already wear trousers. Smaller girls are usually dressed in a piece of cloth reaching from the upper body down over the knees, which is drawn over one shoulder. Older girls wear the clothing of the women. No distinction is

/146 cont./

726 In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used
[725] large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the
[177] heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron
[411] and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista
they were already using swords and machetes.

411 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture
726 is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is
728 of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao."
628 For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American
411 mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the
171 blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the
Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence
of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador
and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and
[462] is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but
[157] for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one
[223] uses the thin, straight trunk of the fiza tree, the pith of which is
burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in di-
ameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to
three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a
little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun.
[324] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the
[211] right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts
to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Never-
theless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches
above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving,
nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave
and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is
probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its
tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/153 cont. /

286
• [177] The hammock (máka), as the Spanish name already indicates, is a borrowed article and not generally distributed in the Andean cultures. Among the Paez it is used only for children. Its dimensions, with 100 meshes, are about 100 by 100 centimeters. It is hung up with agave or horsehair ropes, which are looped through the upper and lower rows of meshes and then tied to house posts.

[415] The berry sieves (tása) are present in almost every household. They are about 30-60 centimeters in diameter and are stretched inside a round wooden frame. The meshes are formed by means of the "fishnet knot" (Fig. 34d /see p. 256 /). This draws together very closely and is then scarcely recognizable in its structure.

283 The sling (fsut) is made with various techniques. For its manufacture the dried fibers of the agave leaf are used just as they are obtained when the leaf is stripped. A knot is made at the tip of the bundle of fibers, and it is then divided into two parts. Both are turned by hand in the same direction and then twined by rotation in the opposite direction. This produces /154/ -- conditioned by the naturally thickening material -- a two-strand rope of steadily increasing strength. Since it is twisted only by hand, it threatens to lose its tightness with greater thickness. Hence, after about 50 centimeters, the hank is divided into three parts and plaited for about the same length in the manner of a three-strand braid.

286
284 To make the net for holding the sling stone (Fig. 29 /see p. 255 /), the three plaiting strands are divided into seven strands which, in each case, are separated from the plaited part by a simple finger knot. From each of these knots two double strands continue, which, put diagonally, are tied together by a double finger knot.

The length of the net part is about 20 centimeters. At its end it changes back to a three-strand braid by way of a simple finger knot. It should be noted in this connection that the middle strand at the beginning of the braid is caught in the threads of an adjacent knot. This prevents the plaiting from loosening up as it goes into the net and losing its tightness. The same

/161 cont./

286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
531 ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.

824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of
clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.

[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which,
however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[299] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized
by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into
the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in
the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics
black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for
about two hours, along with the leaves of the sal tree or the
zôte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the
leaves of a *Phyllanthus*) and then buried for two days and two
nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth
(*ašakrič*). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly,
and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and water-
proof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing,
which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the
desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags

824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez

177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,

[439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market
in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their
stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton
purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making
women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the
Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to
transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the
men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and
the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the
bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of
twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They
sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend
the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who
cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are
carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work,
which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupa-
tion," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting,
on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags
or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work
material with them in a second wool pouch.

/169 cont./

49/ rivers (*), for example, the Río Kokiyo, which flows through

[114]

* I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
49/ loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree-trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Río Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).

[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.

49/ Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
● 177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

/170 cont./

- 491 Rather, these constructions seem to be a borrowing from the
● 177 Negro slaves who were brought into the region around Belalcázar
499 in very early times in order to work the gold and salt mines
there. Both bridges would then be an African culture element
in the Tierradentro region. They are suitable only for people.
Larger animals are pulled through the river with ropes and must
swim part of the way.

- 499 The two groups of posts on each bank -- a very modern method
of bridge anchorage -- upon which the arch of the bridge hangs,
are supported by a number of stakes driven into the ground
farther up the bank. Bamboo poles serve as joining and holding
material. The footway held from above is made with split
bamboo, pounded flat. Additional bamboo tubes, secured by
[476] lianas, form the railing. For the construction of such an arched
bridge the inhabitants from the adjacent villages along both
shores come together. They bury the ends of two long and
strong bamboo tubes in the ground, so that their tips lean
[623] slightly toward the river. Then the gobernadores /see the
glossary, p. 249/, as the heads of the town councils at the time,
start climbing up the poles, which, as a result of the weight,
lean toward the center of the river, until the poles touch and
the two gobernadores can shake hands from either side. With
one hand they then quickly tie the joined tips of the bamboo
poles together by means of lianas, which is the first step in the
bridge construction. It is completed by the rest of the people
(from Hernandez, 1944, p. 190).

/171/

III. Society

1. Political Organization

- 619 The tribe of the Paez consists of the inhabitants of a num-
ber of villages of the Tierradentro region who regard themselves
as belonging together because of language, clothing, habits, and
621 traditions. Their present-day political organization is based on
the village community. It corresponds roughly to the original

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were simi-
larly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[628] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger
resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that
time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in
order to create clear relationships with respect to the white
landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essen-
tially the same, as one may see from the large number of old
native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic vil-
lage management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times
of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called
caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249 / by the
Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The
Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the
heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the
political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war
leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary
chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find
among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities
of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength
according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most
nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness
of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who dis-
tinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or
personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

/174 cont./

624 In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish
[177] colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of
capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and
often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church
for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members
of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then
succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was
often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who
died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20
years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his
father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the
family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any
work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old
capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years
624 of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the
leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were
also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages,
however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo,
but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able
to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his
veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by
himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the mis-
651 sions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax asses-
sments and administers the funds.

623 The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the
293 first of December. On the following January first, the elected
[666] cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the
municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is
given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs
of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from
year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centi-
meters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of
the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks
are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle
is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the
end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

601 /179 cont./

my father	<u>āt̥c</u> <u>táta</u>	my mother	<u>at̥c</u> <u>máma</u>
your father	<u>inc</u> <u>táta</u>	your mother	<u>inc</u> <u>máma</u>
his father	<u>kyec</u> <u>néi</u>	his mother	<u>kyec</u> <u>nihf</u>
our fathers	<u>kweš</u> <u>táta</u>	our mothers	<u>kweš</u> <u>máma</u>
their fathers	<u>kyáñweš</u> <u>néi</u>	their mothers	<u>kyáñweš</u> <u>nihf</u>

It is interesting that in address the foreign father or the foreign mother of the partner in conversation is called táta or máma, like one's own parents.

The relatives in the parents' generation, who correspond to our "uncles" and "aunts," are differentiated in address, /180/ depending on whether they are relatives in the maternal or paternal line. In the case of the female relatives in the maternal line the prefix "pe" is placed in front of the corresponding designations for the male relatives. It is also striking that for stepfather and stepmother no word combinations with "father" or "mother" are used, but rather the same words as for the father's brother and mother's sister, or the spouses of the father's sister or the mother's brother.

father's brother	<u>nyok</u>	father's sister	<u>pétsots</u>
mother's brother	<u>ká'ka</u>	mother's sister	<u>pényok</u>
stepfather	<u>nyok</u>	stepmother	<u>pényok</u>
father's sister's husband	<u>nyok</u>	mother's brother's wife	<u>pényok</u>
father-in-law	<u>táta</u>	mother-in-law	<u>máma</u>

[177] In the children's generation the absence of designations for nieces and nephews is noteworthy. For lack of specific Paez words and concepts, Spanish ones are used. It is possible that in pre-Spanish times the entire children's generation, either that of an extended family /Grossfamilie/ or at any rate that of the maternal or paternal line, was designated by the same name by members of the parents' generation in the manner of the "classificatory kinship

/186 cont. /

● [77] Today all children are obliged to attend school in the
797 mission schools, where they are taught the catechism and the
871 Spanish language and must bathe once a day under supervision.
515 The mother nurses her child exclusively during the first six
853 to eight months; only then is the giving of more solid food begun,
which, however, does not differ in any way from that of adults,
that is to say, the child is given yuca, beans, chicha, brandy,
etc., like the adults. The mother suckles the child until the next
one arrives, namely, three to four years, and sometimes beyond
that, along with the one born next. Every woman who has a
child generally also has milk, we were told. Only if the mother
should be far away, /187/ for example, on an errand at the
market or out fetching wood, may another woman help the child
with her milk. In the rare cases in which a woman does not
have enough milk to feed her child, she may give it to some
853 other woman, who, however, does not receive anything for it. It
855 may also happen that a family with ten children has become so
[593] large that the food is no longer adequate. In this case the woman
may leave one or several children in the care of her mother. If
she no longer has a mother, however, she must keep them herself.
In case the mother of small children dies and leaves a baby of less
than two or three months who still cannot eat any food other than
milk, the father looks for a woman who likewise has a nursing
baby and who brings up the strange child with her milk for two or
three years, until it can talk. Then the father takes it back, and
the wet nurse is given a cow as "milk money."

854 Ordinarily the children are carried by the mother. The
482 colored woven belt (táw) and the large shawl (panyelón or sentyatc),
in which the child is wrapped and carried by the mother on her back,
are needed for this.

857 The games of the children are generally instructive for their
868 later life. The boys go bird hunting with the blowgun (pār), the
plaited stone-sling (ísot), or the elastic sling (kaučéro), or they
practice catching each other with the lasso, during which the child
[23] to be caught represents a cow or a horse. The ability of the children,
and of the adults, too, by the way, in the use of the lasso is not

/194 cont./

585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week.

[535] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages
[177] Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens --
[837] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juan Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; otherwise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if
591
[587] they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

/195 cont./

d) Death

761 According to the belief of the Paez, death occurs chiefly
776 through the action of the evil shamans (nyic) or the evil spirits
165 ec, mis, and gelyómp (see "Religion" /see pp. 191ff./). Included
164 here also is the not infrequent cause of death through consumption.
[262] Causes of death of children are chiefly whooping cough, as well
as stomach and intestinal disorders, the latter brought about by a
[762] diet very unsuitable for children. Suicide is completely unknown.

764 The death of a member of the community is passed on from
[763] man to man by members of the family and neighbors. There is
[203] no public mourning or lamentation; upon the death of small
[765] children, people act as though they were glad, since the children
[192] are now "little angels." (Among the colonists, as well as among
the Paez, the Spanish word "angelito" is used.) In former times
it was customary to abandon the house when death occurred and
to leave the deceased and some food in it (Castillo i Oroscó,
p. IX).

764 The manner of burial is the same for men, women, and
184 children; there are no social differences. A few customs in other
Paez communities, however, differ from those of the Calderun.
Therefore the burial of the dead in Calderas will be described first.

• [77] For burial the deceased is dressed if possible in purchased,
[29] that is, "white" clothing, even if he was the poorest of the poor
and had never worn such clothing. For this reason the relatives
incur considerable expense, which often cannot be paid for a long
time. Burial takes place the day after death. Only the feet of the
deceased are washed. This work, as well as dressing the deceased,
may be done by relatives or even by outsiders; they must, /196/
however, always be men, even in the case of female deceased
persons. The body is taken by two men on a bier made of two
tree trunks to the graveyard next to the church, where two other
men, usually relatives, have already dug the grave. The latter
is trapezoid-shaped, a good shoulder's breadth at head height
and narrower at the foot end. Its length is determined by the size
of the deceased. The direction of the grave is completely arbitrary.

204 cont. /

556 special sociological role within their community, for they are
elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village
offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy,
though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there
[192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor,"
"póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for
"rich," "čáčanás," at the same time means "strong" in the physi-
cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how-
ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor
family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of
Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil
shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the
neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there.
He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica-

115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any
556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter,
626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he
wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and

[291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has

• [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now
proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets.

His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had
to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken
men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too,
when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very
rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion

115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex-
123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and
556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was
626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work
with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and
more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A
123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly
demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko,"
a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

/205 cont. /

578
[23] I acted as though I did not understand the words, but observed the same thing as on other occasions of disputes among Indios, namely, that two who are quarreling are not separated by a third stepping in. Rather, a dispute is regarded as an affair of the participants and as an interesting diversion in the monotonous daily existence, and the outcome is observed with obvious interest. Apart from the native word "alko," the Paez, interestingly enough, have no abusive word in their own language. The only term of abuse, but used very frequently, is the Spanish "carajo!"

f) Division of Labor between Men and Women

462 As we have seen from what was said above, the individual left to his own resources cannot exist in the Paez communities. The men's work is supplemented by the women's work, and vice versa. Both men and women are dependent upon each other to make a living /206/ and rely on each other for their most primitive vital needs. A man needs a woman who weaves clothes for him, and a woman cannot clear a field -- to cite but one example. The traditional tasks in relation to the sexes may be summarized once again here. Transitions toward newer ways of life are noticeable, as these have been taken over from the surrounding colonists.

	Men	Women	Children
462 857 Clearing a piece of land	x		
Sowing maize, potatoes, yuca, sugar cane, coca, wheat	x		
Sowing cabbage and beans	x	x	
Sowing gourds and cucumbers	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting maize, potatoes, coca, wheat	x	x	

Columbia SC1

P /212-cont./

428 guests. In case the deceased has neither sons nor brothers --

P which scarcely ever happens, it is said -- the villager who takes
[768] care of the burial inherits his entire property. The widow moves
in with one of her brothers or sisters or some other relative.

T Disputes and misdemeanors, such as theft or adultery, are
692 judged within the communities by the cabildo; murder or serious
623 bodily injury, by the Colombian state judiciary. It was said that
[692] murder and manslaughter did not occur in former times, the old
612 people told us; they are a consequence of "white" influences
623 and the weakening of the cabildo. One can well understand this,

182 for in Calderas where the village council still enjoys a certain
● [177] amount of power and considerable prestige, it would be unthinkable

P for a son to stab his father to death. This happened in San Andrés
[177] where the cabildo exists only in the form of three functionaries
who are basically powerless and without standing and where the
young people, through the influences of the living conditions of
the white colonists, no longer have any feeling for the old
discipline and customs. It was in San Andrés in March, 1953,
that the son of the capitan stabbed his father to death. The

P latter, after the death of his first wife, had married a second
[593] time, for which his children reproached him vehemently. In a
drunken state, this led to a brawl, in the course of which the
father struck off half of his son's right ear and the son killed his
father with several knife stabs in the abdomen. After the deed, he
fled; but since it was known that he could find shelter only with
relatives, the /213/ gobernador of the town of Lame seized him

P a few days later in the house of his sister, where he had hidden.
[624] He was brought to San Andrés in chains and delivered over to the
sindico, who was simultaneously occupying the position of
gobernador. The latter, an older man of the age of the deceased
capitan, tried for some time to reason with the murderer, who
gave the impression of being uncommunicative and almost sullen;
he pointed out to him the baseness of his deed, of patricide, and
then he was led to the church in which the dead capitan was lying
in state. The son resisted violently, but was forcibly led up to the
corpse and broke down weeping before it. Before he was transferred

/224 cont./

- 193 no one: těčanyópa; těčanyópa máhiméta, "no one is working";
- several, various: ko; ātya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";
- many: tak; tak nása, "many people";
- little: wě; very little: táwala wěha.

193 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The
 114 only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to
 be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write"
 in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word forma-
 [177] tion of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set
 [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that
 way in Calderas.

193 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not
 124 represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was men-
 177 tioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar.
 Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Every-
 day speech is different, and especially in storytelling the inter-
 preter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial
 constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/
 "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be under-
 stood while using the forms.

193 Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and
 [124] two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms correspond-
 ing to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither
 understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the
 future are not always used. Very often the present is used with
 the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ātya gwágwan
kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ātya gwágwahipt, "I shall
 speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used
 arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely re-
 ceived the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way."
 Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha),
 or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[26] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjuga-
 tion is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

• /253 cont./

539

When he came back, he saw the snake in its place. Then he changed back into a human being. The fiber bag was there, too. The bananas were there, too. The snake filled with water (that is, underdone, still watery) was there.

It was afternoon when he went into his house. The bag he brought to his wife. He came to his wife with this bag. When he had knocked, he entered.

2. Orientation and General Knowledge

772

776

• 177

Nothing definite can be said about the ancient Paez conception of the world, since Christian influence has had a strongly modifying effect. In any case, there is in the Paez vocabulary the word "tátyinas," which is sometimes translated as "god," and sometimes -- and corresponding better with the meaning of the word -- as "creator." The word "Dios" is used to designate the Christian God. Tátyinas, I was told, lives in heaven, on the earth, and in the earth. He made all human beings. He does not receive sacrifices. He is not mentioned in shamanistic ceremonies.

772

775

The vocabulary shows that, besides the earth and the conception of a heaven or of the firmament, there were also two places of the dead that were familiar. The happy land of death, mbéka kígwé, is like heaven. Literally it means "land of chicha," and if one knows the Paez, one realizes that in any case it must be /254/ a happy land. The land of the dead corresponding to [776] "hell" is called ec kígwé. The ec are the most evil of all spirits. They live in the earth; hence this designation must refer to a subterranean land.

804

461

As for natural periods of time, only days and months are known, as well as work days and non-work days (ki'sen). The latter designation is now used for Sunday. Originally this was not a fixed day; rather, people worked and celebrated as they could arrange the time within a larger or smaller community. Even today, during the times of clearing, the people sometimes work for weeks in the field, without inserting a work-free day.

/255 cont. /

802 designated as "much" (teč kwát), literally "one stone." Today it is the designation for "hundred."

75 The medical knowledge of the Paez is not great. Almost all illnesses are regarded as based on magical causes and are treated by the shamans (see below // see pp. 190 ff. /). Broken bones are treated by the midwife, who rubs on cow fat and wraps leaves around them. The broken bone is never put in splints. In [849] a difficult birth the midwife is able to turn the child into the right position; if then the birth does not go well, her skill is at an end. No remedy is known for snake bite. In the case of headaches, a leaf is tied to the front of the head. For flatulence some wood ashes are rubbed on the abdomen. For injuries caused by a machete and bleeding profusely, a tourniquet is applied to the affected limb, above the place of the injury, and the wound is covered with a small piece of cloth. The shaman has the injured person bite hard with all his teeth on the iron machete.

3. Religion

771 The Paez today are nominally Christians. They are baptized
797 and usually married by the Catholic priest. The Christian mission-
izing began as early as the sixteenth century, at first, to be sure,
with little success, which did not increase when from 1630-1654 Jesuit
missionaries took over the mission work. Only in the last decades
797 has there been greater progress. Hand in hand with the conversion
● 177 to Christianity go the introduction and teaching of the Spanish lan-
871 guage and the adoption of Colombian customs and habits. Today
in almost every village there is a mission station and a school, the
teachers of which are mostly women missionaries. In general the
parents do not send their children to school unwillingly, for they
have realized that knowledge of Spanish and of reading and writing
is accompanied by certain advantages in their relations with the
[178] whites. In connection with the /256/ schooling, of course, there is
[756] some alienation from the old habits and customs of the Paez, espe-
cially those of a religious and sociological nature. Nevertheless,

/256 cont./

797 in all Paez communities in which Spanish is not understood by the
177 majority of the population, the old functionaries of the original
178 Paez religion are needed to maintain the social life in particular.
871 In accordance with their activity, they are designated as "shamans"
756 by theologians. Because of the dissimilar nature of their religious
activity, they do not by any means represent unbridgeable competition for the Christian missions; rather, both, the Christian faith and shamanistic activity, can exist side by side in the present stage of culture of the Paez.

771 If one considers existing theological convictions, one finds
793 that the office and dignity of the cult priest rest on the performance
756 of sacred acts which must of necessity be fulfilled so that the
182 natural and normal development of human existence is not obstructed. His task is to confirm the existing world order through the consecration of sacerdotal acts. The shamans, however, -- on the contrary! -- want to outdo and break through the given order of nature and the environment. Their greatness and authority rest on the fact that they do supernatural things, that they heal the sick, struggle with spirits, yes, awaken the dead to new life. This, at any rate, is said of the greatest of their kind, whose talent lies in their spiritual, supernatural powers, in their mastering of extraordinary circumstances. Over against the cult priest's "thus it is," the shaman puts his "thus it should be" (A. Friedrich).

a) Characteristics of Paez Shamanism

756 The Paez shamans, in the sense given, are not functionaries
754 of a sacrificial cult, but persons who do supernatural things. There are two types of them, the teyu and the nyic. Whereas the teyu (tepits as a man, téoi as a woman) is a good shaman, a good doctor and helper of human beings, the nyic is an evil shaman, an evil sorcerer, a hexer. The shamanistic activity of both, however, as a religious phenomenon, is not nearly as distinctive as, for example, the shamanism that we are familiar with in Siberia or North America.

/256 cont. /

771 It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult
[793] priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any
[756] case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word
[797] tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-
771 day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental atti-
754 tude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite mission-
[797] izing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no
[177] poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather every-
thing is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves
are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the
actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is
desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched,
being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes
554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty
and industrious members of the community, those who tower
above the others because of their success.

754 There are no persons who are privileged because of age,
177 sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans,
who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in
dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in
the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works
with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according
to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over
554 the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general
popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influ-
ence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our
Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very
intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and
bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán.
On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives --
so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One
[755] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His
brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day
the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to
running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye,
however, to this day.

/265 cont. /

756 right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned
826 will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the
787 right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the
[763] palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting
the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back
of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the
offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right
hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the
right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost
or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the
lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the
thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit;
signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good
people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs
on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the
pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the
person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of
756 interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all
787 illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs
are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel
them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential
characteristic of being shamans.

787 Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well
828 as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an
essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well
as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on
one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individ-
ual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is
seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively be-
cause of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way
can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons
115 concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the
787 most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to
828 remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore
554 takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists,
[477] in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore
[444]

/268 cont. /

756 without leaving a trace. In vain the father tried to find out where
773 he was staying. After eight days, however, the son again appeared
in the hut. He said that he had been with his grandfather, who
had given him brandy, medicines, and this staff that he held in
his hand and that was called tama. The "brandy" was cold water
from a lake, and the medicines in the fiber bag were mountain
herbs. After he had said this, he fell into a trance and lay there
as though dead. Fourteen days later, as he lay dying, he asked
his father to hand him his tama, for Thunder had told him that he
could defend himself with it and that, in case of illness, he should
take the medicines that he had given him. He squeezed /269/
out the juice and drank it. Quickly he became well. When he
gave it to other sick persons, they, too, became well immedi-
ately. With his staff and his medicines he became the best
doctor far and wide. He died at an advanced age.

775 Another shaman said that the tama stems from a lifesaving
773 act of the Holy Virgin Mary. Once when the sea rose constantly
● 177 higher and had covered almost the entire earth, human beings
were in great danger. The Virgin Mary took pity on them. She
drew forth the tama and with it made the same motions that the
shamans make with it today. The masses of water then receded.
She left her staff behind for the person who became a shaman.
This is supposed to be the origin of the tama.

Although in the latter story not only the figure of the Virgin
Mary, but possibly also the motif of the Deluge did not originate
in the thought of the Paez, nevertheless the origin of the tama as
756 a gift from a higher power is noteworthy. This power, which,
776 for the shamans, is of the greatest significance as a spirit being
787 and as the first shaman, is Thunder. According to reports, he
also positively has the character of an assistant spirit, even
though he is almost only feared by the present-day shamans.
"The old shamans," the present ones constantly assert, "were
still powerful enough magically to establish communication with
Thunder directly and at any time; we today are no longer able
778 to do it." In former times the members of the cabildo, under the
756 guidance of a shaman, bathed together in the lagoon of Juan Tama
623

/280 cont./

255
75c that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/289 cont. /

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different
tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I
acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-
holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone
steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a
whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the
third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a
major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is
noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a
definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended
fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger
holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical
drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with
skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.

● [177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves.
[463] Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In
former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture
amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each opera-
tion (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of
calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which
run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of
the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles
two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/290 cont. /

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with 173 the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case

533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

P /291 cont. /

533 properly with their instruments and simply uniformly beat sixteenths.

● 1777 Thus it seems that the melody is more original and hence more
534 firmly anchored in the tradition of the Paez, and that with the
C borrowing of the drum, the corresponding modern rhythm was also
633 adopted. This has been corroborated for me by an observation per-
534 taining to the music of the Negroes of Tumaco in the Colombian
[177] port city on the Pacific coast. There, among the descendants of
onetime slaves, West African musical instruments with correspond-
ing Negro designations are still in use today, among others the
xylophone-like marimba and two drums, the conical konuno with
skin stretched over one side and the cylindrical bass drum covered
with skin on both sides, the bombo. The latter shows the same type
of stretching as the Paez bass drum and is also played with two
drumsticks, one of which, provided with a raw-rubber knob, is
struck on the skin and the other, a simple stick, on the frame of
the body of the drum.

P
533 The musicians are always men. They play the music as
[462] amateurs who learn one or another instrument because they have
taken a fancy to it. The drum is the more popular instrument,
whereas flutists are less numerous and primarily limited to certain
families.

P
535 The dances danced today, which, by the way, not everyone
[171] masters, correspond to the Colombian bambuco, though they do
not show the dexterity and lightness of movement required for that,
such as is found among the Colombian rural population in other
parts of the country.

P
535 By way of a note, there should be cited the dances which H.
114 Pittier de Fabrega (based on E. Castillo i Orosco) mentions for the
Paez and which in some of the designations, point to an independent
culture: onza-kó, /292/ "mouse dance," nwi-kó "buzzard dance,"
itsa-kó, puberty dance of the girls, eč-koi-kó, dance of the spirit-
flute, tel-koi-kó, dance of the long flute or war dance, la-kó,
dance to dedicate a house, etc.

* /312 cont. /

39 when the thief again came, took down some potatoes, kindled a fire, and roasted them in it, he took out both of his eyes "out of foolishness" before he ate and laid them on one of the three hearth-stones. Then the owner of the potatoes, whom the thief, of course, could not see, stepped up, saw the eyes, and kicked them into the fire, so that they burned with a bang. The thief heard the bang, to be sure, but thought to himself, how fine the potatoes are popping and sizzling!

When the thief had eaten all the potatoes, he looked for his eyes, but could not find them. He then left the house very sadly, without eyes, and set out for his own house. On the way he met a rat who was out walking there, and they started a conversation. The thief complained that he had lost his eyes and that, without eyes, it was very difficult to find them again. He begged the rat to lend him one of hers only until he had found his own eyes again. The rat lent him one, but since both of his eyes were burned, he could not, of course, find them. The man then turned himself into wind.

The rat searched for the thief of her eye for a long time, but could not find him. Her son, like his mother, also had only one eye. The son in turn had a son, and he, too, had only one eye. Since that time the descendants of this rat family have only one eye. And that is why one can still find rats today who, to be sure, have the nose, mouth, feet, skin, and ears of a rat, but only one eye or none at all; they go back to that rat who once lent one of her eyes.

/313/

105 V. Summary and Culture-historical Classification of Paez Culture

[16/]
[62/] If we briefly summarize the sketch of Paez life and the elements of their culture, we find before us a democratic agricultural people of 25,000 persons, among whom no one is master and no one servant. Surrounded for centuries by Spanish culture, they have preserved their language in extensive sections of their area of settlement.
[177]
[197]

/314 cont. /

105 The clothing of the men and women covers the upper and lower body. The men's upper garment, called "ruana" in Colombia, "poncho" in Peru, is a sleeveless shirt open at the sides. It is ancient American, known both from the relief of the so-called "sun god" of Tiahuanaco and from a grave of the pre-Spanish period in Arica (northern Chile) (Montell, pp. 173-183). Soon after the Conquista, since the second half of the sixteenth century, this Andean article of clothing, which consists simply of a square piece of cloth with an elongated slit for the head, was distributed throughout the area of the Andean mountain cultures. Its name, "atc," among the Paez, however, has no parallel linguistically.

• [177] The men's trousers are clearly Spanish. The women's costume is most simple: as an upper garment to a skirt a rectangular piece of cloth is simply put crosswise over their upper bodies.

[241] From an economic point of view, field cultivation is primary. It is carried out by the men in the form of the burned-clearing system with a ten-year clearing cycle. The only field tool is the

[433] digging stick. The minimal area of cultivated land for one family is about one hectare. The principal crops are maize and sugar

[177] cane. The latter was not introduced until after the Conquista. The Paez word means "sweet." The Paez designation for maize, "kot," has no parallel with the corresponding words of the Chibcha, Carib, or Aruac /Arawak/ language groups, but with Kechua /Quechua/, where maize is called "kuts" (Birket-Smith, pp. 22-30). The stimulants are coca and chicha made of sugar-cane juice. Both Paez words, ey and mbéka, respectively, have no parallels in other language groups.

105 There are no outstanding festivals indicative of a planter's culture or rites associated with the products of field cultivation, nor does anything indicating an agricultural rhythm of life appear in the myths and religious customs of the Paez. The mythology and ceremonial customs are remnants of a hunter's attitude of mind. It appears as though the Paez did not adopt their primitive agriculture until the time of the Conquista or shortly before, and adopted only the mechanical application of the methods of simple digging-stick farming, without the ceremonial customs associated

/316 cont. /

105 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory"
601 system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has
53 taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthusiasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making *chicha*. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world
773 emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears
776 as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. (784) There is also a special forest spirit (*gělyómp*) among the Paez. He (224) has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

LXXXI



Ill. 154. House with ladder.

291
142
417



Ill. 155. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakúé.

115
142
177
291

312 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION [MEMOIRS, I

101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to
be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. <i>Paez Basin</i>		
As-at	Inzá	Suin
Chinas	Líme	Tálagá
Chitoco	Mosoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	
2. <i>Palo Basin</i>		
Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribió
P'taio	Tacueyó	
3. <i>Orejás, Corra, and Piedra Mountains</i>		
Cajibío	Caldonío	Paniquitá
4. <i>Vaguará Basin</i>		
El Retiro		Iquirá
5. <i>Locality Uncertain</i>		
Ahirama	Oyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusi	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the
above description of their territory, were to the north—the
Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and
the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos,
in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds
of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains
of the Cauca valley, the Kitsua and the Jamundies. The Kitsua
were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different
stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also
191 the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

101 There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and
174 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to
the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied
against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

316 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION [MEMOIRS, I

164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lél*), tumors of several kinds (*tol-sek*, tonsilitis; *koi*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*bu-guñ*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhoea (*u-tsis*), dysentery (*mcuguc*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-guñ* in the ancient dialect, *kui-kui-ne* in that spoken at the present day).

757 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

CLOTHING. PERSONAL ADORNMENT

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
286 by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[231] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiñ*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left
[276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

318 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION [MEMOIRS, I

362 extracted from the seeds of *Bixa orellana*, which they applied
[24] by means of a cylinder of clay (*kaanda*) on which certain designs were carved. Specimens of such cylinders are often found in graves.

291 Children are very scantily clothed. The boys go about naked
515 until they reach their twelfth year, and the little girls wear only a short *atš-tul*. The clothing of the male and female adults seems to be worn as long as it lasts. As is the case with all Indians living at high altitudes, the Paez are not especially fond of bathing, and cleanliness is not a cardinal virtue with them.

[513] In retiring for the night, they simply wrap their garments tighter around them, the children using old rags in lieu of blankets.

386 The ornamentation of the *silia*, or sash, with several brilliant
[182] colors and the desire of giving a uniform hue to the darker clothing of the women, gave origin to the art of dyeing, which very likely is to-day in its decline. The dyes were derived chiefly from plants. Black was obtained from *jal*, an arborescent *Phyllanthus* that has a semi-domesticated appearance and forms characteristic thickets around inhabited places, like Vitoncó; the same color is also contained in the young pods of the *huarango* (*Casalpinia tinctoria*), a spiny tree often seen near the houses and extensively used at the present time for dyeing wool. The roots of *tuk-nítse*, a Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium* Hemsl.) akin to the madder, produce a scarlet color. Different kinds of blue dyes were extracted from the fruit of the *jagua* (*kii*, probably *Gouipa* sp.) and from an *Indigofera*.
[177] Many other tinctorial plants very likely escaped my observation and are gradually passing out of use on account of the introduction of foreign fabrics.

DWELLINGS

342 The Paezes have permanent houses in their thirty-four villages and temporary abodes on their corn plantations. These latter are merely small huts, the walls of which are more or less elaborate according to the altitude, being made tighter near the upper limit of culture. They represent the primitive type of

PITTIER]

NOTES ON PAEZ INDIANS

319

They represent the primitive type of
habitation, the agglomerations being the result of the efforts of
the missionaries. 342
[177]

The villages are generally in the open grazing districts at the
bottom of the valleys, on side plateaus, or on broad ridges. 361
They are not compact in the common sense of the word, but
consist of isolated groups of houses, the approximate common
center of which is often indicated by the whitewashed thatch-
roofed church (plate v).

The walls of the permanent houses are made of a kind of 342
bajareque, i. e., a skeleton of canes filled in with clay. In the 353
better homes the interior is divided into two or more rooms,
usually very small, with a hearth in the middle; but oftener [354]
there are no interior partitions, the dwelling consisting of a
single square apartment. In every case that came under my [356]
observation the interior was very untidy.

The Indians openly objected to our entering their houses, 352
hence I could gain only casual glimpses of their domiciles, the 123
furnishing of which seems to be an imitation of that of the 177
dwellings of the few Spanish people living among them or in
the immediate neighborhood.

Outside the houses they generally have a cane-crusher of 407
primitive type, with horizontal smooth cylinders moved by
means of levers at each end. A loom and a grinding stone are
also seen occasionally under an adjacent shelter (plates iv, 286
and vi) 412

There may often be seen, either about or inside the house, 415
very large jars used as receptacles in the elaboration of the
chicha. These utensils seem to be almost the only survival of
the ancient earthenware industry. The smaller pottery vessels
which were seen occasionally had been taken from old graves. [192]

Each group of houses, in which several generations of a 351
single family dwell, is surrounded by a small enclosed field, [592]
planted with sugar-cane, plantains, oranges and other fruits, and
greens and roots of daily use. The garden enclosure is formed
by a ditch, inside of which is a wooden fence or a stone wall,
the latter often crowned by a hedge of maguey (*Furcraea*), [247]
lechero (*Euphorbia*), borrachero (*Solanum*), and other bushes.

¹ [See plate facing p. 317 - Anal.]

² [See plate facing p. 320 - Anal.]

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimka-kdl*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

Perfectum

- 1st p. *anki-t fis*, I wrote; *kut-k-uel ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p. *inui-ng fis* *ik-uel ik-u fis*
3d p. *kind-k fis* *kind-g-uel tink fis*.

Futurum

- 1st p. *anki fis an-et*, I shall write; *kut-k-uel fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p. *inui fis an-eng* *ik-uel fis an-ek*
3d p. *kina fis an-en* *kind-g-uel fis a-tin*.

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

- 1st p. *fis ats-it*, I am writing, *fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
or painting;
2d p. *fis ats-ing* *fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p. *fis ats-ik* *fis ats-i-ta*
and
1st p. *fis n-op-i*, I am writing, *fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
or painting;
2d p. *fis op-nga* *fis n-op-kua*
3d p. *fis n-op-a* *fis n-op-ta*.

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *op* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mā*, with a frequent elision of the *ā*, as in the following examples:

- Tund-e-mā*! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mā-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Atta-mā! Go away!
Kla m-ue (mā-ue)! Catch the cow!
Io m-pēs! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — Borrowed Words

(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list:

340 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION [MEMOIRS, 1

192

177

<i>kmissa,</i>	for <i>camisa,</i>	shirt.
<i>kneia,</i>	" <i>guineo,</i>	a variety of banana.
<i>kiso,</i>	" <i>queso,</i>	cheese.
<i>kisil,</i>	" <i>cuchillo,</i>	knife (machete).
<i>kutli,</i>	" <i>coche,</i>	pig.
<i>letli,</i>	" <i>leche,</i>	milk.
<i>mama,</i>	" <i>mamá,</i>	mother.
<i>mil,</i>	" <i>miel,</i>	honey.
<i>pango,</i>	" <i>banco,</i>	bench.
<i>sap,</i>	" <i>sapo,</i>	toad.
<i>senda,</i>	" <i>cinta,</i>	ribbon.
<i>slapon,</i>	" <i>eslabon,</i>	fire-steel.
<i>ticle,</i>	" <i>tigre,</i>	jaguar.

(2) *From the Kitsua.* — In describing the territory occupied by the Paéz and the neighboring tribes which later became consolidated with them, we have seen that it was, and is still, in close proximity to the northern end of the area occupied by the Kitsua (see the map, plate 1). Intercourse between these peoples has been necessarily frequent, and many words have become common to both languages. Castillo's editor, the late Professor Uricoechea, obtained a list of some of these words from Mr G. Pacheco Zagarra, who had perused Castillo's vocabulary. To these I added a few, notwithstanding which the list still remains very incomplete, as the lack of an extensive Kitsua dictionary, including the northern dialects, forbade any further effort on my part to make it longer:

Paéz

akots, cinder
atsi, to sneeze (onomatope)
atal-pis, rooster
anaku, part of woman dress
ds-a, to stink
atla, very
alke, dog
as, yes
kpa-ki, to overtake by following
kellin, drivel, dirt
kandul, vulture (condor)
ia-yi, blooming sugar-cane

Kitsua

akku, cinder
atsii, to sneeze
atal-pa, rooster
anaku, part of woman's dress
as-nana,
atla (antla), much, very
alke, dog
as, yes
kpa, behind, after
kelli, drivel, dirt
kuntur, vulture
ie-yin, blooming sugar-cane, also a vine

killa, paper, letter, book
kalloni, to lick
kikin, again
kakka, father-in-law
laki, lax, feeble, lazy
mutlai, to kiss
mil, cat
miski, honey
muti, boiled corn
aa, to complete, to finish

huka, sugar-cane, sweet cane
piñu-shia, to hate, to quarrel
pisku, turkey
puki, watershed
peln, to ask
humbi, sash to support the *anaka*
tipi-pi, turkey
ukupa-ki, to push
udsi, a hut
vite-pasak, one hundred

killa, paper, letter, book
kalloni, to bite
kikin, again
kakka, father-in-law
laki, feeble faint, sad
mutlai, kiss
misi, *mitti*, cat
miski, honey
muti, boiled corn
aa, so (Span. *ya! ya se acabó =*
aa)

huk-aa, sweet, applied to any fruit
piñu-tsina, to be angry
pisku, bird
pucyu, watershed
pin? who is it?
humbi, sash, girdle
humpi, brown
ukupa-tsii, to push
hudsi, house
patlak, one hundred

192
177

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct.

192
174

F. — The Numerals

802

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1. <i>Ias</i> , <i>vitefi</i> | <i>tefi</i> |
| 2. <i>Ens</i> | <i>ens</i> |
| 3. <i>Tek</i> | <i>tek</i> |
| 4. <i>Pans</i> | <i>pans</i> |

352 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION [MEMOIRS, 1

192 *nat*[601] *nat* + *kat**nat**nat* + *uá-i-tain* (T) }*nat* + *nu-te* (H) }*nat* + *nuít* (T) }*nat* + *nuít-kat* (H) }*nat* (H)*nat-xíla**nat dñan uáti**nat*[824] *nat**nat**nat**nat* + *knia* (T) }*nat* + *knia* (H) }● [177] *nat* (H), *nat-pi* (T)*nat**nat**nat* (T)[824] *nat* + *a* (H) }*nat* + *a-ián* (H) }*nat* + *bits* (T) }*nat* (T)*nat* + *deh**nat* + *d-its**nat* + *kat**nat* + *kat**nat* + *kat*[824] *nat**nat*

old, when speaking of a female—

Cast.: (*e-pat*)

old woman, grandmother

sister of a brother

elder sister of a brother

younger sister of a brother

sweat

throat

half

beam

Gyncrium saccharoides, a tall grass used in making hats*Alnus* sp., the South American alder*bijao* (*Heliconia* sp.) a plantain-like plant

dwarf plantain

turkey (Span.: *limbo*, or *chum-pipe*); both Paer words are derived from the Kitusa variety of large tick—Cast.: *guakó*sheep—Cast.: *kapila*guava tree (*Psidium guajava*)

guava, fruit

plantain

manzana, a variety of banana

ripe plantain

baked plantain

plantain peel

boiled plantain

shade—Cast.: *puad**Tropaeolum tuberosum*, a plant with edible tubers

/284 cont. /

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241. Economy. --The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
● 177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality and mildness of the bean.

231 /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

311 On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when [731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in population and the habitual burning.

101 Population. --Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
361 who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/285 cont./

101 the Ullucos river, since to the south of it were found the Topas,
361 Yaguiváes, and Guanaca. It seems that in the fifteenth century,
[165] under the rule of the cacique Calambás, the Paez went over the
[173] cordillera and settled in Pitayó, Toribío, and Tacueyó.

162 Dr. José Pérez de Barradas gave a number of 30,000 souls.
[161] The census of 1938 gives a total of 17,578 inhabitants distrib-
uted as follows: municipio of Páez (Belalcázar), 13,861;
municipio of Inzá, 3,717. The censuses of 1951 give a total
of 25,495 inhabitants, with 15,388 in the municipio of Páez
and 10,103 in that of Inzá. It is obvious that the census of
1938 was defective, especially with regard to the population
of this last municipio.

• [177] Of this population, approximately 80 per cent is Indian,
acculturated for the most part, except for those of Calderas,
Suin, and Chinas, where traditions are strong and their contacts
with the white scant, and in addition there is great resistance
to living with him.

142 The Paez are of medium height, with light brown skin,
dark brown eyes, straight black hair, broad foreheads, rather
pronounced cheekbones, pentagonal rather than oval faces,
361 robust constitutions, and rather broad shoulders. Their pueblos
796 consist of a church, a school, the house of the priest and of
342 the cabildo, and a few other houses which are occupied only
at the times of religious fiestas; they live in ranchos that are
rectangular in plan, with thatched roofs and walls made of tight
rows of maize stalks, /286/ located on privately owned land
and a considerable distance apart.

291 Dress. -- The Paez dress simply. The man wears linen
trousers, a poncho tied to the waist with a leather strap and
another that falls freely from the shoulders, and a hat which
they manufacture themselves with palm or bamboo leaves.
The woman wears a wide skirt tied around the waist with a
multicolored band preceding the folds made at the back, a
poncho similar to the one worn by the men and also tied around

000 /288 cont./

756 medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the
755 supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him,
[787] and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation
is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The
indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and
[462] aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years
[754] and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the
effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against
it.

754 c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state,
[753] are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of
[761] the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal
their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sor-
754 cerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the
154 strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent
plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled
the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives.
The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working
individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a
growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings
[683] generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly
unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even
to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their be-
[685] ing sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves.
Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism
of dreams.

583 Marriage. --Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both
[595] the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of
[591] the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with
[177] the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving
[797] institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the
action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this insti-
tution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faith-
ful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish
a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/288 cont. /

583 in the church, live together for a period of indeterminate duration, explaining that /289/ the man does not have enough money at hand to marry as soon as he asks the woman, and it is necessary to work in order to obtain it.

771 Religion. --The religion of the Paez is formally Catholicism,
 177 but many of their traditions are hidden in it. The principal
 [796] fiestas of the natives are religious ones, which acquire true strokes of splendor. The Catholic priest is called upon for the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, and cases of death.

Chapter II

631 Calderas. --Incrusted in the very heart of Tierradentro is the
 131 Parcialidad of Calderas, bounded on the north by a high ridge
 133 that separates it from Chinas and Avirama; on the east, La Muralla, the very model of a fault, separates it from Avirama, just as a ridge separates it from Togoima; to the south, deep gorges and high peaks separate it from San Andrés and Togoima; to the west, the Quebrada Guacharaca divides it from the Parcialidad of Lame.

133 It is crossed from west to east by the Quebrada Kukiýú,
 631 actually a river in terms of the volume and violence of its waters, whose bed is deep, enclosed, and inaccessible. Its
 [423] left bank is somewhat softened by a beautiful plateau of about 20 hectares, with fertile lands, abundant waters, and on which the pueblo rises; it belongs to the community, whereas the other lands are private property guaranteed by the fact that the owner either personally cleared the montaña or inherited it from his ancestors who cleared the forest. The right bank is steep, harsh,
 [161] rugged. Numerous clearings are to be seen on these sloping
 [311] lands, indicating the increase in population that compels them to cultivate lands of low fertility and great danger for the laborer.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont. /

- 142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions, have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization.
- 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114, 773 I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/ (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/177/

I

Point of Departure

63/ To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of
361/ the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on
horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento
/district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on
the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the
[175] Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books
[103] since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the
[797] representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés
de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

361/ San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity..

563/ At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos
177/ whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices
361/ have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has
[648] been overcome, but active resentment against the white still
[569] crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

/178 cont. /

36/ who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and
[563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec-
[177] tions.

[542] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses
/houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and
stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick
and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that
of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand-
36/ some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, a style
reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of
the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth
century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side
there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where
the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is
surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise,
and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef,
a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not
175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo
has marked historical significance; for a long time it was
called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization,
the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain
Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of
Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands
after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-
lived. On this same plateau Mósquera's rebellion against the
government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his
spectacular victory over the government forces headed by
[317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paezes
/The Paez/, manuscript.

/184 cont./

342 bear its entire weight. Over this frame are placed transversally
335 the pikas, beams that go from one wall to another, to strengthen
476 the entire structure. Then the four-slope roof will be raised
and covered with bundles of sugar-cane leaves (flushets) or
straw (sits) which are fastened around the frame, starting at
the bottom; it is completed by the ridgepiece, more massive
and notched in a straight line on both sides to a depth of some
50 centimeters; at the apex, some mounds of straw are piled
up at regular intervals and a cross is set in each one of them.
The man in charge directs the last touches from the ground:
"There is not enough straw over there; there is too much here,"
he notes in a commanding voice.

The walls are made with tall stalks of maize placed in a
row between the posts and tied with crosswise bindings, like-
wise of stalks. The partitions of the interior rooms and the
doors, generally one, which leads to the exterior, are made in
the same way.

342 In the construction all do the same tasks, except for the
476 man in charge, who supervises. Neither the man in charge nor
465 the workers are paid anything. "it is not customary to pay
among the Indians"; they are merely treated to chicha, aguardiente,
a meal with meat, and coca. A calabash of chicha and a
bottle of aguardiente are presented to the man in charge and
shared with the helpers. When the work is done, they get
drunk and dance.

342 The women do not participate directly in the /185/
462 /illustration appears here/ construction work; they cook, distribute
476 food, keep the house supplied with firewood and water, talk,
and delouse and comb one another.

342 Three types of dwellings may be differentiated among the
476 Paez, in accordance with the greater or lesser introduction and
177 acceptance of foreign architectural features, since nowadays
elements of foreign origin are spreading and taking root:
bahareque construction, interior division into rooms, the square

/185 cont. /

342
177 house-plan, the use of nails, plank doors, and even locks and keys to safeguard the dwelling; likewise, whitewashing is not unknown.



342
352
353
23/ The rectangular hut is the most primitive type of dwelling: tiny and light, crude and totally artless; a two-slope roof, walls of stalks laced together with an /186/ entrance door; an earthen floor; a kitchen in the center, with hides all around it; pouches suspended from the posts; on a three-legged beam, the grinding stone; a smoke-blackened interior; and living intimately with the guinea pigs.

/186 cont. /

860 with the guinea pigs. These ranchos give the impression of
342 extreme poverty in their dwellings. None of them is of
bahareque.

342 The second type of dwelling, which is more widespread
177 and shows a larger number of foreign architectural elements,
is the large rectangular house with a four-slope roof, 15 to 20
meters long by four or five meters wide, with one or two doors
and two or three rooms, one of which takes up two-thirds of the
space made, and the last third is subdivided into the room in-
tended for the kitchen and the other for the chicha troughs and
[841] pantry. Not a few of the dwellings of this type have a compart-
[343] ment for menstruating women (du yate léchukue), although as
a rule small huts are built outside the house for this purpose.

[513] In this type of dwelling one commonly finds bahareque,
[352] sleeping platforms, plank doors, and sometimes whitewashed
walls.

361 The settlement of Calderas is made up of this kind of
342 dwelling. It consists of 14 houses scattered at random on a
[342] beautiful plateau of some 20 hectares, covered with pastures
[776] and crossed by drainage ditches that bring water to five of the
[346] houses, which are permanently occupied; the others, although
they have owners, serve only for religious fiestas when the
fiestero /fiesta leader/ moves there with his retinue of
mayordomos, laborers, cooks, and the utensils for serving
346 aguardiente, chicha, and food. These houses are spacious, 25
776 meters long by six meters wide; thick mud walls, with a plank
door at the entrance; the enormous sala, fluhne wala, is 13
meters long; here stand the sugar mill, the metate (úkukuat),
the notched ladder for climbing to the garret, the pango pil,
crudely hewn rectangular beams on which the men sit, one of
which is 10 meters long; firewood is piled in one of the corners;
the floor is of earth unevenly smoothed. The concentrations of
people who visit the fiestero in a daily stream gather in these
spacious salas; here music echoes, the albacero /fiestero's
assistant/ is taken care of, the dances take place, the drunks
sleep, and the sugar cane is milled.

/186 cont. /

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill, [262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in [273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by [276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work,"

/190 cont./

372 cult of fire. In times past, fire was obtained with "steel and
773 tinder." Whatever the case may be, the mythical accounts

346
291



372 disclose the usury of the owner of fire and anxiety when they were
773 on the verge of losing it. Nowadays, when through carelessness
[177] it goes out in a household, the matches of the whites are used to
revive it.

513 The Indians go to bed early. At seven o'clock at night the
512 parents and the children lie down in a common bed on the dry
hides of cattle, keeping on their bodies the clothes that covered

/218/

XXIV

The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiýú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from

184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the
796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderun /person from
291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean,
177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue
301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces,
541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the

[491] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

/220 cont. /

XXVI

Religious Fiestas

796 Among the Paez there are no secular collective celebrations. All are religious. They celebrate with pomp and grandeur: San Andrés, Semana Santa, San Juan, San Pedro and San Pablo, La Santa Cruz, El Día de Difuntos, La Inmaculada Concepción...

(178) The Lazarist missionary, David González, says that as far back as 1689 the fiestas were organized as they were found in 1905, that is to say, as they are today. Each pueblo was granted a patron saint and various other protectors. In spite of this, only San Juan Bautista and San Pedro and San Pablo, whose fiestas are celebrated when maize is eared /en macollaje/, the rains are heavier, and the winds are violent, the day of the dead /el día de difuntos/ with its offerings to the souls, the Inmaculada Concepción, when grain is abundant, and the Semana Santa (El Resucitado /The Resurrected/) were the fiestas and saints that aroused the most enthusiasm and sank the deepest roots in the souls of these natives.

771 The Paez, and especially those of Calderas, are religious
796 in externals, not in conviction; they are more concerned with
182 form than with substance. This is revealed in the religious fiestas of these natives. /221/ Few of them attend mass, and fewer yet pray at vespers. To the great majority of them, religious fiestas mean a squandering of gunpowder, lights, aguardiente, and chicha. An abundance of food. The pleasure of getting together. The joy of contact. The music, which assuages hardship, and the dancing, an exteriorization of feelings. It is the expansiveness that leads to gatherings, the sexual jokes that spring up among them without misgivings; it is the continuous drunkenness. It is the display of generosity, the exercises in co-operation and altruism.

796 The priest, as a punishment for failure to attend the Mass
793 on the part of the chief fiestero and albacero, refused to carry
719

/229 cont./

75 from time to time he puts in more coca and more mambe,
[276] which he takes from a small calabash (kuetand tuka), pours on his right fist, and throws with force into his mouth. He watches. Sorcerers work systematically to send him the ptans, and they must not catch him unprepared. The signs warn him as to when he must blow the chew in order to contain the ptans.

He tells the patient that the signs are favorable; there will be an immediate improvement. The pains which assail him are due to the ptans which he has from the vertex to the nape.

After 20 minutes in a motionless and expectant state, the curer stands up with his face raised, as though illuminated, walks jauntily to the tama, blows the chew violently; he fills the small gourd with aguardiente and tosses it into the air. This is the invitation to Thunder.

He returns again to his place, takes a cigar and crushes more than half of it, puts more mambe in his mouth, and remains quiet, his hands folded and his arms resting on his knees. Only the deepness of the night with its characteristic sounds disturbs this decisive moment. No carelessness. It might have fatal consequences. He remains in this position for about 40 minutes.

Then he takes the chew from his mouth with his hand and tosses it in the direction of the tama, after having passed it around his body. The patient does likewise. He immediately tells the sick man that he must return with all the remedies. He interrupts his work. Thunder has shown himself to be

75 favorable. Since the patient has ptans, a good "cleansing"
783 must be done, for which he must bring three pounds of meat to be eaten after the cleansing, chicha, one pound of coca, one liter of aguardiente, and six cigars. The curer himself must
• (177) go to the lagoon in search of the remedies. He advises the patient that for a period of three months at least he must not use the drugs of the whites, for if he did so, he would die.

The cleansing of the ptans. At 7:00 P.M. the patient comes to the house of the curer. He hands over the medicines

* /251 cont. /

756 In any case, "the curers have something and are kind,"
554 said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderon curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

* 756 /252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The
157 curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they
156 have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

• [177] Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change,
[291] although they are friendly enough with whites. They always
[757] advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

/257 cont. /

754
554
152
598 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick person, explained that this man owned much land and that they had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754
613
623 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754
685 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754
177
554 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont. /

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display
the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much
livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase
are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery.
From previous examples, we see that those who have land,
animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields,
the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, re-
venge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands.
The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo,
call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip
it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it
so that it will never return to the region. They say that the
white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally
decides to return to his country.

• [177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance
is shown against living with and contact with the white, there
are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of
the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs
so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and
newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do
not want a certain family to prosper.

[433] The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[167] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[464] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as
laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic
hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/263 cont. /

182 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant
754 attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us
of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the
té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong
fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the
elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts
[761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are
brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction
182 of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the
177 intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange
that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades,
while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said
to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal
Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement
area in which the whites settled. With this measure living
together was inescapable and they chose to accept them.
Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the
tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still
crops out.

182 Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution
754 of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the
423 increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution
[554] has become prominent. Those who have the most land are
[152] the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical
754 attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions
182 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this insti-
tution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is
too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against
[184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is
[177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed
[675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad
[762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and
cases of arson are hair-raising.

/293 cont./

22] on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-

[166]

[464]

[192]

[199]

[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The

[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately

[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.

[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

[464] When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficulties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.

[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographic-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
 /33 Pisimbalsá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists
 eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately
 parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
 [361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow
 zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within
 which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó,
 San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considera-
 ble area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.

311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
 [487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-
 Humano de la Costa del Atlántico
 /Geographical-human Environment of
 the Atlantic Coast/, " Revista Geográfica,
 p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras.

The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
 311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
 641 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
 361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white"
 regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of
 Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
 361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
 311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is,
 in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other
 side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that
 "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones
 for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
 [177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
 [433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of
 potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
 [648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
 [175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas,
 and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not ex-
tensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they
serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for in-
dividual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo
is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens
or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry
belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before
the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally
obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its
expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and uni-
versal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of culti-
vation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient
and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee

245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
#34 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by

[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the
natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future

245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to

434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,

● 177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At
harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to
pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,

[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume
considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not
yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

[Mosoco]

/316 cont./

105 Guambianos. They adorn themselves with showy necklaces and
178 pins. Not a few of them wear fine gold earrings.

[232] Livestock-raising has intensified and is in full swing.
Norman cattle are replacing and being crossed with the native
cattle. The same thing has happened with the wool-bearing
livestock. The /317/ saddle and pack horses are indispensable
for every family. The natives also possess fine breeds of hogs
and domestic fowl.

[565] Social stratification is in full progress. Rich and poor
families can already be named.

Mosoco women seldom marry natives from other, less
acculturated parcialidades. People speak of mingas, and even
of burials, of the rich and poor, a larger number of people go-
ing to those of the former.

They live on good terms with the whites and treat them
as equals. There are many good native dealers.

These natives are thoroughly familiar with the methods
of curing, the use of remedies, and sorcery. But the té eu and
even more the nara jiji (sorcerer) are on the wane. Many con-
sult the doctor of the "whites" in Silvia and use the drugs of the
"whites." They are less superstitious.

They are believers by conviction. A few are Protestants
with great reasoning powers.

The cabildo retains its power and is duly respected.

The properties are duly parceled out. Many of them are
planted with pastos de selección /literally, choice pasture
grasses/. Fences with barbed wire are frequently encountered.

Agricultural implements

412
[241]
● [177] Among the implements used in agriculture, only the
digging stick for planting maize (uhach) is of native manufacture.
The others are of European origin.

The universal implement among the Paez is the machete.
With it the clearings are made, the ground is cleaned, and the
fields, the montañas are felled, sugar mills are made, and
bridges are laid over rivers and streams. They prefer it large
and with a leather sheath that they fasten to the belt. They are

/333 cont./

417 bags full of frioles, which are also suspended from the wall
353 posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept.

251 The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient,
but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic ani-

[244] mals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and
Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It

[464] is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that
want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of
the "whites."

[263] Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They
utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

251 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José,
where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds
under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain
hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from
the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent
quality because it dries out thoroughly.

261 During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in
273 religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own work-
276 ing capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and
[771] food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid
[464] sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the
[465] most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during
a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed
for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

312 In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result,
water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This
geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to
their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are
true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or
the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary,
● [777] they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has
been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the
high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/353 cont./

262 The Indians like meat, but they state that they eat any type of food; they believe that the "whites" eat better, because the Indians cannot eat meat every day nor spend money on lard or meat. They only eat the produce that they cultivated.

264 The Indians have two meals a day: one at dawn and the other one in the afternoon when the sun is setting. The women and children have one meal at midday, from what was left over from the morning. The principal and large meal is cooked at [252] night. Before lying down the women hang from a wooden or iron hook, or from a wire, the pot with mote or frijoles and stir up the fire at least three times during the night; at four in the morning they add the easily cooked products and eat at the first light of day.

574 The natives are generous and hospitable among themselves; 262 no sooner does a visitor enter a home than they offer him whatever they have available: chicha or food.

● 177 /354/ In the parcialidad of Mosoco, which is undergoing 262 complete acculturation, the diet is changing visibly and the 264 eating hours have changed fundamentally. Coffee, panela, bacon, meat, and maize griddlecakes are consumed regularly.

Trading

43 Except for the parcialidad of Mosoco, the natives produce primarily for internal consumption; but the self-provisioning is insufficient, for they suffer a few months of scarcity. As a result, trading must necessarily be restricted and scanty. In Calderas, Suin, and Chinas, animals are ordinarily exchanged, large, fat cows being surrendered for smaller, thin, fertile heifers and a few pesos besides. We have already referred to this extensively in discussing the livestock. We have also seen how the only industry intended exclusively for trade, that of laurel wax, was a patrimony of San Andrés, Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, Suin, and Chinas, and that the drop in price was a fatal blow for the industry. Thus, aside from coffee, potatoes, wheat, and garlic, which are intended almost entirely for trade, nothing remains but small amounts of manioc, arracacha, plantains,

/364 cont./

511 in the cantinas, in lawsuits over land, or for religious fiestas.
434 These arguments are confirmed, on the other hand, by the
454 statistical table on income in that only five native families in the three parcialidades made up the deficits in their budgets of last year with sums saved in 1952.

Economy and acculturation

121 Before closing the present work we wish to describe in
177 broad outline the process of acculturation which is now going on in some Páez parcialidades.

[101] The material on Páez culture which we have published and that which we are now elaborating on were collected in the parcialidades located on the right bank of the Páez River, leaving aside those located on the left bank of this river, owing above all to factors of public order which have been disturbing their peace for several years.

[178] The native communities of San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Calderas, Avirama, Suin, Chinas, Lame, Vitoncó, Huila, Toez, and Tálaga are more traditionalistic, live in accordance with the institutions of the culture, and for this reason we regard them as more "primitive." On the other hand, the community of Mosoco, suspended on the slopes of the Central Cordillera itself and extending into the very heart of the Paramo de Moras, is fully in the process of transformation.

[648] /365/ Our research was begun in the parcialidad of Calderas,
[101] isolated, by reasons of a geographical nature, from the principal centers of the "white" population and whose inhabitants have defended their independence at all costs and have been hostile to living with the "whites" (39). From here comes the greater part

39. Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," pp. 289 ff.

[101] of our materials. But we also carried out systematic investigations in San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Togoima, Lame, Vitoncó, Tálaga, and, lastly, in Mosoco.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
 [121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
 [127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J.
 Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point
 of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the follow-
 ing economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of
 European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
 [137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"),
 wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the
 agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the
guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as
orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
 366/ particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
 563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon
 has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades
 where there have been created areas of settlement, within which
 a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the in-
 tensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on
 this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of
 Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement
 area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now
 reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to
 the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque
 Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction,
 and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be
 compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco,
 where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
 177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
 [487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
 [491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has
 [628] existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
 continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this
parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group
 and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who
 are more acculturated.

/366 cont./

- (177) are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interesting [554] that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

- [137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

/367 cont./

- 177 varieties are being introduced, such as "java," for example,
[137] which, although the natives call it "wild," they nevertheless
praise for its quality and recommend its cultivation.

Such are the general outlines of acculturation in some
parcialidades of Tierradentro.

113

Bibliography

- Bernal Villa, S. "Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro /Mythology and tales from the parcialidad of Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. 1, Editorial Antares, Bogota, 1953, pp. 279-309.
- Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," Revista de Folklore, No. 2, Editorial Antares, Bogotá, 1953, pp. 177-221.
- Bernal Villa, S. "Medicina y Magia entre los Paeces /Medicine and Magic among the Paez/," Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. II, No. 2, Editorial Antares, Bogotá, 1954, pp. 219-264.
- Dúque Gomez, L. "Problemas sociales de algunas parcialidades indígenas del occidente de Colombia /Social problems of some native parcialidades of western Colombia/," Boletín de Arqueología, Vol. I, Book II, Bogotá, 1945, pp. 185-201.
- Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico - Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human environment of the Atlantic coast/," Revista Geográfica, Vol. I, No. 1, Imprenta Departamental, Barranquilla, 1952, pp. 139-172.

175 ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some
 197 authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others
 114 gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized
 [174] cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the
 fact that today only the *Moguez* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain
 indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these
 Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers
 by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethno-
 logical criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the
 ethnology of the present-day peoples.³ It is also possible to trace the
 174 acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages
 ● 177 were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of
 the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the
 Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous com-
 munities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of
 primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor
 economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate
 their traditions.

121 A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological
 studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as
 important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain
 chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified en-
 vironments.

[172] It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and
 Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an
 undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of
 America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but
 is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

131 The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of
 the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the De-
 partment of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone
 of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western
 spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region
 lies between 1° and 4° 40' N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40' west of the meridian
 133 of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean
 system, which bifurcate at the Equadorean border to form the Cor-
 dillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central,
 which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has
 high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries
 of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of
 which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

³ For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orcoo, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albé, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

Vol. 2] HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 925

The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882-92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314-15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor.

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether.

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands.

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated,

175
648

[797]

[177]

[164]

[731]

175
648

797

175
648

Pasto SC17

P 926

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. N. BULL. 148]

175
648
P
[652]
[651]
P
[177] in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

P
[621]
[631] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

175
648
P
[463]
[333] The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 Farming.—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguez* are [433] beginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation 476 of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [278] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and pre- [273] paring great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands, but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it [251] over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "carifio" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zafnos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 131 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 Food preparation.—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

Vol. 2) HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 939

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 (272)

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 (353) (825)

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 (276) (273)

They cultivate pepper (aji) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring Pijao. Sometimes he permitted other Páez to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 (244) (439) (648)

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each Páez and Moguer family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 (361) 177 342

940

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. B. Bull. 148)

342

[177]

Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

354

352

476

461

554

778

The modern *Mogux* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried

cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house

he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags,

or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small

guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands

against the wall. Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of

a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some

mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal

power.

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform

where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic

cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with

"bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church,

with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses

for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and

fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and

flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so

broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of

roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine

or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

VOL. 31 HIGHLAND TRIBES, 2. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 941

obliquely across the rocks; (3) an arched bridge of bamboo floored with spaced sticks, equipped with a hand rail on each side, and supported with stones, bamboo braces, and vines (pl. 185, bottom, right); and (4) a covered bridge with thatched roof, built of heavy logs supported by sticks and stones and floored with boards—a marvel of calculated strength, which, like the third type, is made entirely of vegetable materials yet can support loaded animals. To build an arched bridge, two groups of Indians approach opposite sides of the river and each plants a long, strong pole sloping out over the stream. The chief of each group then climbs out his pole until his weight bends it down to meet that from the opposite side, whereupon, clinging with one hand, they lash the ends together with creepers. This constitutes the main element of the bridge which is then completed by the other Indians.

TRANSPORTATION

Some Indians now have horses and use them for traveling and for transporting large burdens, but, in general, transportation is by foot, objects being carried on the back or in netted sacks hung by a strap, especially when visiting markets. A woman carries not only a heavy load but her small child suspended on her back in a blue woolen blanket held with a broad woven band, or "chumbe." Peculiarly Andean is the custom that the man travels on horseback while the woman follows on foot with a large burden.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Moguez* and *Páez* formerly wore only small cotton blankets (mantas), although most of them "went about naked even on the cold mountains" (Rodríguez, 1684, bk. 2, ch. 1). They painted their bodies with bixa, using, according to Del Castillo i Orozco, stamps to apply the color. The paint also protected them against the strong sunlight and insects. They went barefoot, as all the natives in Colombia. According to one chronicler, their hair was "shorn" (Robledo, in Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38). They wore breast and nose ornaments of pure gold or a gold and copper alloy, and necklaces of small figures, beads, small stones, and snails.

Soon after the beginning of the Conquest, the Indians commenced to use wide, long shirts of a very crude weave and hats which were so closely woven that they would hold water. The latter, which the Spaniards called "tacillas de Páez" (Páez bowls), are still in use. The Spanish encomenderos required that the Indians working on their haciendas near Popayán be dressed. This was the origin of the characteristic garment worn today, which combines the old small blanket (manta) with European dress. *Moguez* men wear short linen pants, and a blue flannel sash which covers them to their knees.

291
177 They protect the upper part of the body with a black poncho tied at the belt, or a shirt with a poncho over it. Women wear two skirts, the under skirt being black and the outer one white or gray. Both are held at the waist by a sash woven with figures. They cover their busts with two blankets which are fastened at the shoulders with wood, copper, or silver pins. Both sexes carry pouches woven of hemp which, like these Indians, are called "guambías." Their straw hats are dish-shaped, with small brims hardly distinguishable from the shallow crowns. The hats, always too large for their heads, are held on by two cords, one passing under the chin and the other behind the neck, around the hair. The women also wear woolen shawls, silver earrings, rings, and heavy necklaces of glass, shells, and silver. For festivals they prefer hats with the brim divided into two parts, front and back. These are lined with dark-blue cloth, with red and yellow on the brim.

[292] When working, the *Pérez* wear short linen pants or long woolen ones and a large woolen poncho tied at the waist. When going to market, they wear an additional poncho and a woolen pouch for coca. When traveling on the páramos, they wear a knit hemp cloak covered with large, thin leaves of *Gynnerium saccharoides*, which protects them from the rain. The women wear a narrow woven cotton band, passed between the legs and tied at the waist, one, two, or more black or gray woolen skirts gathered at the waist and held by a woven sash, and two small mantas, like those of the *Moguez*. In traveling, a shawl is worn for covering and to carry the child. They adorn themselves also with strings or necklaces of glass or other beads, or white chaquiras, and sometimes are added silver pendants of Colonial origin. [482]
[854] During festivals the women wear brightly colored blouses of imported fabrics and the men linen shirts. [292]

MANUFACTURES

285 Basketry.—The *Pérez* and *Moguez* make a few twilled baskets of cane strips and two kinds of hats. The hats are woven with the coiled or sewed technique. The spiraled warp in one kind consists of a thin bundle of rush or straw, and in the other of a braid made with seven strands. The latter is more common. Both are made by men who prepare materials while resting at home or traveling on the road. [462]
[292] Weaving also includes waterproof capes made by tying sheaves of [824] leaves or straw to a net of hemp cord.

283 Cordage.—Rope making is practiced extensively. Hemp (fique) is the raw material, and is made into cords for fishing nets, bird trap nets, bags or pouches for carrying belongings and products, foundation nets for the leaf rain capes, and cordage for various other purposes. The sisal or hemp (fique) leaves are scraped over the sharp edge of a board to loosen the fibers, which are then washed, dried, and twisted

VOL. 21 HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 943

with the right hand over the naked thigh. Two strands are similarly twisted together until the desired thickness is obtained. 283

Gourds.—Gourds are still widely used. They are picked when ripe, cleaned out, and dried. With small openings, they serve as containers for beverages and powdered lime. Some are made into bowls and others are cut up to make spoons. Today these objects are undecorated, but formerly in Timaná they were painted with a resin varnish very similar to that used in Pasto. (See p. 930.) Before the Spanish domination, gourds were also used as frames over which were stretched the prepared skin of the heads of their enemies killed in war. 415
824
[314]
[727]

Metallurgy.—The metallurgy of these Indians was the same as that practiced throughout most of Colombia. The metals were gold, copper, and an alloy of the two (tumbaga). It is recorded that the Indians "worked gold," but the processes are not described. Specimens found recently in the territory, however, show molding, casting, and hammering. Metal objects included nose ornaments, parrot-shaped breastplates, necklaces with small animal figures, and some anthropomorphic idols. Gold occurs in this territory, particularly on the upper Páez or the Suin River. 325
[301]
[532]
[135]

Ceramics.—These tribes made and still make coiled pottery. Modern vessel forms include large jars for storing beverages and poorly shaped, crudely decorated containers for preparing and serving food. There is no individual specialization in this task, women making pots for their own family and not for trade. 323

Stone and wooden artifacts.—The native Indians made stone axes of a simple design, but stonework disappeared during the time of colonization, when the Indians could obtain manufactured iron weapons and utensils such as machetes, axes, hoes, shovels, etc. The manufacture of wooden objects—weaving, cooking, and farming implements and weapons—was furthered by the use of metal tools, and now is well developed, as exemplified by the trapiche (cane mill), a true machine made of wood. 324
182
197
322
349
197

Weaving.—Weaving, little practiced before the Conquest, developed with the post-Contact need for wearing more clothes and with the introduction of sheep, whose wool was used in addition to cotton. Weaving was and is exclusively the work of women (pl. 186). They prepare fine, uniform yarn with a common spindle, which they handle as they walk along the road (pl. 187, top). The loom is vertical, made of two horizontal rods fastened to two uprights. The warp runs vertically with a continuous thread. The horizontal weft is pressed down with a wooden sword. They also weave hemp bands on the loom. Woolen blankets are woven in natural colors, but some sashes have bright colors made of imported wool or of home-dyed wool. For red, they use one of the Rubiaceae (*Relbunium hypocarpium*), and for 286
[177]
[462]
[386]

286 944

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. R. BULL. 143]

[386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411 Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones
[824] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throw-
[171] ers like those used by the *Chibcha*; and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives.

[177] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354 Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel,
[372] but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cook-
[177] ing, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

354 Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of
824 wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter
[388] are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small
439 native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and espe-
[435] cially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit
[804] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in
[273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

621 946

631 list presented by a council composed of former governors, the cap-
666 tain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but gen-
[651] erally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must
appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs,
their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities.
The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors
(alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fis-
cales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of
government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are some-
thing like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Gov-
ernor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community
through the Governor.

423 Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the
usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted
[651] to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable
[554] of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the
benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo
for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The
right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children,
in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

422 The house was formerly typical personal or movable property,
which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The
same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses
so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property.

[764] Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adorn-
ments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things
[428] and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the
[177] members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is
being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the
[692] cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by
[623] whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained
[681] from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of
limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still liti-
gations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the
Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works
[691] in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich
[648] Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The
[423] female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to
live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes
are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents
them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the muni-
cipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of
the hill against the Indians.

881

heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

797

871

[868]

[562]

• [77]

595

583

584

583

585

527

[782]

[775]

764

[1147]

[727]

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páes* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (*amaño*). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (*aguardiente*) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páes*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "*cuido*." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (*shirimía*) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, *chicha* is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and *chicha* drinking, the "*refresco*," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. *Chicha* is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, *compadrito*, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

¹¹ I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ojeda de Hernández, for her research in 1956 on matrimonial matters.

Vol. 3) HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 951

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Arts included sculpture, small, cast gold idols and figures, and painting. Their best known art objects are those decorated with lacquer or resin, found in the Timaná region, and the stylized representations of beings which women still weave on cotton sashes. 532
[314]

Music.—These tribes formerly played on trumpets, drums, large sea shells called "totutos," cornets, and cane flutes. These instruments were played not only to accompany dances but also when going into battle. The sea shell trumpet was used during the Colonial Period but has been abandoned. The drums are made of hollowed trunks, and the drumheads of animal skins. The flutes are made of cane, and vary in length and thickness. They are capable of such variation in tonality that the musical combination is pleasant to the ear. 534

A kind of orchestra, known as a "chirimía," today consists of a large drum to beat time, a small drum to play a rhythmic roll, and flutes to carry the tune. Each community has its orchestra, but every Indian is a flute player and loves to play his instrument when traveling over the hills. The music is nearly always sad and has absorbed some of the regional Colombian popular airs. It has few variations, and changes to a solemn tone on funerals. The *Páez* love their own music so much that, instead of using the Gregorian music of the Catholic rites, they have imposed their own music on the religious ceremonies. Thus, at Maas, they play the special music used when an animal is to be killed and eaten. Other music accompanies the bursting of skyrockets and firecrackers. There is music for the Elevation, for the Creed, and for the Requiem Mass. Certain musical pieces are called simply "bambuco" (local airs), though they have some variations. 533
[177]

Native songs narrated the triumphs and feats in war, but none have been collected, and all are now forgotten. Today the Indians sing only some modern Colombian airs or religious songs. [177]

Dances.—Dances were very important to these Indians, being held for war, for religious ceremonies, for weddings, and for sexual initiation. During Colonial times, Del Castillo i Orozco reported the following dances; most of which, as their names show, apparently had not suffered any change under Spanish influence: 535

Gurpe coo, a dance to ask for money.

Vite coo, a dance of the rod or stick.

Xeita coo, a dance of sea shells or of the armadillo. It was accompanied by two sea shells of different tones.

Owas coo, a dance of rats.

Imaguari coo, a dance of the sparrow hawk.

Ech covi coo, a dance of the phantom's flutes.

Bel covi coo, a dance for great festivities.

Quimb coo, a dance of the drum.

Itea hó, added by Pittier de Fábrega, a dance of girls' puberty.

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguez*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Pdez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptisms, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (*mingas*) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [608] dance at the beginning.

[527] The *Pdez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguez* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] Games.—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, performed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal [769] feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 Narcotics.—The *Pdez* and the *Moguez* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by [756] the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 Alcoholic beverages.—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have [178] fermented sugarcane juice (*guarapo*), and a sort of rum (*aguardiente*). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from *guarapo* and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink *guarapo* every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger *guarapo* and *aguardiente* to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, *mingas* or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. *Guarapo* and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no [771] temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

Vol. 21 HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 953

Castillo mentions that they worshiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-fino," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,¹² but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the Páes in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.¹³

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

¹² During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

¹³ We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

Vol. 2) HIGHLAND TRIBES, S. COLOMBIA—HERNÁNDEZ DE ALBA 955

cluding vegetables, cornbread, eggs, and chicha, which he piles on the church floor, together with wax candles—one if the person does not have anyone in particular to remember, two for each deceased relative. When Mass begins, they throw flowers on the presbytery, as an offering to the souls of children. Afterward, they go to the cemetery in procession, and the souls of the departed come down to the empty church to take the food. Later, the people sell whatever the souls left or failed to eat. Everyone buys something, the captain's assistant collecting the money, while the constables of the council, raising their whips and shouting insults, prevent frauds in the general disorder. The money from the sale is given to the priest to pay him for the work in the rites. As each person leaves the church, he kisses a crucifix held by the sacristan at the church door. They kiss it once for each dead person whom they wish to remember and pay a cent each time. In addition to offering food at the church, the *Moguez* cover their tables at home with food, which is also intended for the souls of their dead, and at the end of 2 or 3 days they eat the food, saying that they are eating what the souls have left. (624) (625)

Christmas and Holy Week are both great occasions for the Indians, who celebrate them with music and some of their ancient rites. Even though a priest may not be present, they conduct the rites in a manner that dates from Colonial days, when a *Páez* Indian named Undachí tried to combine Catholicism with their own religion. The man claimed to be able to see God, who used to come among the Indians and talk to him in his own *Páez* language. The new religion included a chapel, Mass, and candle and flower offerings. 796 797 127 (781)

Sickness.—Sickness was always thought to be caused by witchcraft or by someone's will. The evil force entered the body and made it impure; it had to be expelled or "cleansed," lest death ensue. If a delirious person told who was killing him, the individual mentioned was thought guilty; or, if, after a death, the face of the deceased should appear to somebody, the person was considered responsible. These beliefs are still in force today, and the Indians avoid the causes of sickness, such as having sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman, exposing the body to bad weather while there is a rainbow, and neglecting to bathe after a burial or to purify a house where a death occurred. 753 754 (787)

To fight disease they still have shamans. *Moguez* shamans use tobacco, coca, plants known as *yacuna* and *chundar*, and rum in their practice. After remaining shut up in a dark room for a night, they either confess their inability to cure the sick person or proceed to administer the traditional medicines. Sickness is conceptualized as an animal, which enters the stomach, head, or other part of the body. In former times, the shaman fasted with the sick person, abstaining from salt and fats and taking only coca and chicha. Today, he requires that only the patient fast. 756 (753) (785)

/178 cont. /

The Family

594
361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the
175 nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that
594 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the
361 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves
with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest
of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote
in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor
and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces,
"that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José
de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently
Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to
your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in
these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent
Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and after-
wards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino,
I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined
to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at
drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when
they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to cele-
brate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó)
or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing,
they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

177
797
361
3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas
de contrabando /Contraband Letters/,"
Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but
the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives
made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./

- 177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the

797

361

4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the

- 594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the opposite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

[361]

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desaffo; pelea que es un desaffo solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paéz, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"

- 594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/182 cont. /

462
594

13. (cont.)

Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol.
III, 1954.

361 In this manner, among the Paez, marriage,
182 family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and
594 in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the re-
581 luctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

423

Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-
591 neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to
[584] ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities
are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is
taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built
591 his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for
596 cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their
provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new
[523] spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man
assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the
work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation
[594] for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his
own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy;
once married he works to support his family.

582

• 177

The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although
he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men
nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites").
In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a
native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possi-
bility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the
parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white"
woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the
"whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their
land.

582

The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/
determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and
children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely
prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both
lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not
prescribed.

/184 cont. /

6-60 stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the
551 present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eight-
171 eenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not trans-
[177] missible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and
[797]

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit.,
p. 75.

their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the
doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimila-
tion and integration into Páez culture must have been carried
out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature
595 existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical
177 chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez
797 appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence,
since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland
Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

594 The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with
the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when
both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The
[562] husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always
under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the hus-
623 band. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has au-
736 thority over orphaned women, including that of having them
562 marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan
583 and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her step-
father. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage,
but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her
back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters
of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad
of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her,
admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she
would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being
[text continues on p. 33]